1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

361
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Inside a Masai kraal.

343

Place in the woods where the warriors sleep after eating meat.

[Facing P. 292]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njempe and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

D 224 411

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

M 101 184

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njempe presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 142 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldly contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 361

The colony consisted of two villages—Njempe of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njempe of Guaso na Nyuki. The houses were of the bayonet order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 342 351

M 184

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ang*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *ol-mavi*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-taleishie*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *aiel*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 85 sheep and goats, and 18 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Njemps Kubwa" and "Njemps Ndogo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[14] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[15]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[16] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.
[14] The people known as WaMera in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 18 or 17.

/25 cont./

342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /26/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for 417 the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies, 361 the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia • 351 branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the 824 livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the [233] huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night; large livestock, calves, and small livestock

142 301 342 237

Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
35 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eŋg aŋ el moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
621 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the
361 latter the warriors (ol morâni, el môran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

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Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

/Illustrations from p. 29 of the original source./

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Merker phot.

Ill. 10. Hut complex.

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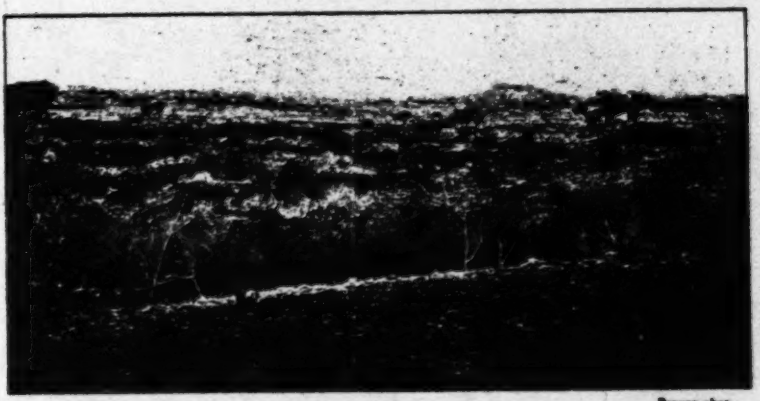

Ill. 11. Thorn hedge of the kraals.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-
262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe-
[241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[758] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[758] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwót) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[753] (1),
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[253] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence
[231] of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which
70 quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which
[361] the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior
[634] kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a
[342] large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the
[513] hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are
[423] staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

621 The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain
701 huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle,
462 clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while
[351] the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and
[356] keep the huts clean.